105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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Apayao OA5

[For information on the location of the Apayao of northern Luzon, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. xx.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND DAILY ROUTINE

By MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

Introduction [1]

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[1] On the habitat of the Isneg of the subprovince of Apayaw, Mountain Province, Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, see details in M. Vanoverbergh, The Isneg, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1932. v. 3, no. 1, esp. pp. 55–57, map, p. 51: on Isneg

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language, with phonetic key, ibid., pp. 3–14. [Since writing and forwarding the manuscript of the present paper, Father Vanoverbergh has discovered that what he previously had called the G branch of the O dialect of Isneg is in reality two separate branches which he is now calling the Bayag branch (abbrev. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag, and the Abbil (abbrev. A) branch, spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan. So he is eliminating G and substituting B and A. Detailed data on B and A, received from Father Vanoverbergh since

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the receipt of this manuscript, will be published shortly.—Ed.] In native words used in the present paper the accent (') is placed over, instead of after, the accented vowel. Accented n (n̄), however, denotes, not accent, but the ng sound in English "bring".

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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Isneg

836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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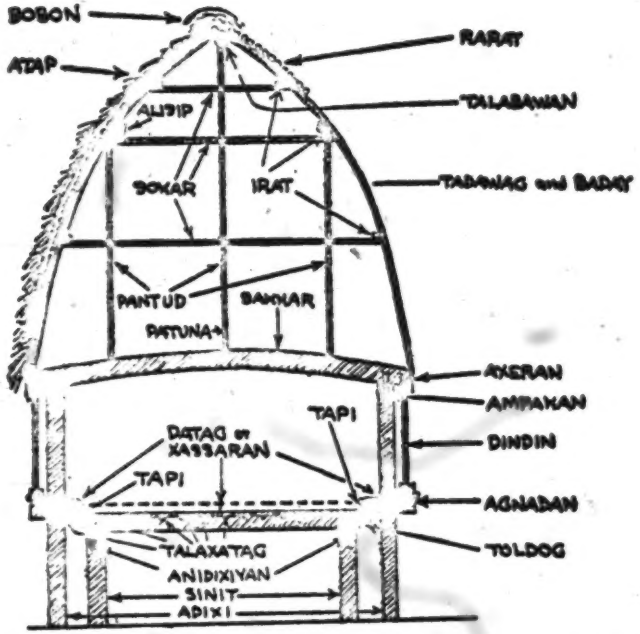

Fig. 6. — Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

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24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

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[824]
The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of

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this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the

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house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".

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Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.